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/148 cont./

The school children show some inclination and skill for the manual arts: the girl prefers the work in the field and also appreciates embroidery and sewing.

461

He is also endowed with his talents as a worker. The skill, which we have already pointed out and will point out (see ch. V /see Ch. VI/), the perfection, and the relative speed in the kind of jobs that he traditionally performs are the best proofs.

The necessity to live forces him, for his part, also to face great difficulties in order to conquer nature. It is enough to imagine the sacrifices imposed by the cutting for a clearing, with the means formerly at his disposal. His endurance, for example, for rowing, is worthy of consideration. For other jobs, such as agriculture or digging the ground, he is weak. Although the work rhythm is not intense, but rather is always with the calm that is characteristic of him, and he has better nourishment than in his home, after two weeks the Indian begins to weaken and not infrequently to lose weight; and after two or three months he must be excused for holidays and rest (13).

13. Besides the danger of malaria in the lower Rio Negro, this weakening of the Indian, especially when he lacks his customary foods, condemn the process (that some are already exploring and others, ignoring the circumstances, recommend) of making use of the native hand in the extraction of the piassava, the Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," the name of several trees (and their fruit), including the Brazil nut/, or borracha. We think that such jobs can be, or rather must be, performed only by the caboclos, who already have physical endurance and a psychic disposition different from that of the natives.

/246 cont./

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After the operation of burning or the coivara, one proceeds with a rough cleaning, o'asé, removing to the sides one or another trunk and branch that might be on the ground.

[462]

Now begins the planting, which is reserved for the women, that is, the wife assisted by her daughters or women who live with her. Since this work might take a long time, if the clearing is very far from the house the man builds there a small hut or papirí, in Tukano wi'yká-pama. This is four stakes supporting a straw covering. His family will stay there during the cleaning and the planting. This is done, even today, in the simplest way, called wexsé bu'bé, with the help of the digging stick; that is, after a rainfall, when the ground is still soft, a hole is made in the ground with a pointed stick (more rarely, today, with a digging iron), sérí-phĩ, a maniva (branch of manioc) is introduced obliquely, and a small heap of earth is piled up around it.

Nowadays, they plant in their clearings besides mandioca, joints of cane (saccharum officinale), shoots of the banana tree (Musa), of carás /Dioscorea/, of sweet potato (hypomoea batata), of pineapple (ananas satíva), seeds of papaya (papáya cárica). Ordinarily they do not plant all the cleared area at only one time, but in two stages or two clearings a year, in the two proper times; it is what they call dexkó bu'besé, half a planting. The planting is done in disorder, the /247/ shoots very close together and without a passage. For this reason, and also because of the impoverishment of the soil, the return is always scanty. Ordinarily they do not pull up mandioca for flour until after a year. The weeds that grow are pulled out by hand, taá kuresé, by the women. The woman will spend several hours a day in the clearing with her children and, upon returning, will carry on her back an aturá of mandioca, a bundle of wood for the fire, and a child or two hanging on at her waist.

[462]
[857]

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/Illustrations facing p. 219 in the original source./

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From early childhood the little girls are used to chores (manner of carrying the pot)

One of the feminine occupations

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/282 cont./

515 They are ignorant of the use of handkerchiefs, cleaning the nose with the fingers, which afterwards are rubbed against some part of the body.

[854] The mother, or another woman, with her own hands, attends to the cleaning of her baby, and afterwards, in order to clean herself, is satisfied with shaking her hand to one side and rubbing it on the ground or against some plant.

3. The arts.

157 In the complex of works that the forest dwellers execute, they not only reveal splendid aptitudes, rare ability, and other qualities already mentioned elsewhere, but also particular artistic tendencies which are begging our civilization for more opportunities to develop (47).

[857] 46. With a knife improvised out of a piece of the metallic binding that goes around the crates of merchandise, the child produces canoes, and now even small airplanes, in wood.

The house that he builds, with all its furnishings, -- stools, ceramics, woven goods, canoes, weapons, hunting and fishing gear, baskets, -- reveal, besides the stability and sturdiness required for the purpose for which they are intended, an over-all harmony, a proportion of the parts, a finish in the details, which give a pleasing impression. In all there is revealed a notable artistic sense which should be considered in detail in its threefold manifestation: woven products, designs, music.

a) Woven products.

286 Among the works of weaving, we have already called to mind the nets /Port. rede, net, hammock/ for sleeping and for fishing. But particularly in the rede batida /beaten hammock/ (which seems to be of European origin) and in the puericueio /a covering that hangs from the waist/, Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro (see below - d (1)), the native woman shows her artistic taste and skill. In the Yaxkẽ

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c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or carĩço, with the notes succeeding one another with the
*[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale, as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto /countersong/ to the other.

They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this
533 reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs, even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly
[177] enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very
[194] many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of
[147] the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice has little elasticity (54),

> 54. The voice has so little elasticity that perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give
[562] a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and dances the men never sing; the women do it infrequently, for example, when they work in the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however, that the men's songs are religious hymns, whereas those of the women are bacchic compositions that they render when they distribute the drink.
[797] Among the alumni, and especially among the alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a greater elasticity, and one hears humming more frequently. This, however, is usually the religious or secular songs learned at school.

/421 cont./

593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

/423/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[611] although the children belong to his tribe (27),
[601]

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[175] trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
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[124]

> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

4: Silva--711 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

627 /466 cont./
[623] or fear. The tuxaua, nevertheless, frequently acted as an arbiter, reprimanding the guilty ones, threatening them, imposing on them restitution of the object stolen or an indemnity, and, as maximum punishment, expelling the undesirables from the maloca; always, however, in accordance with the Komũã components of the
[681] Bũxkõrã-kurã. They have never known the penalty of prison /467/ or corporal punishment. It should be kept in mind that with their type of life, and with the native mentality, innumerable cases that fill our penal codes do not arise."

g) Associations.

797 In the Mission schools it is observed that, although the various
857 tribes with representatives among the school children live together in friendly fashion, the groups of each tribe readily separate in order to play among themselves. A Religious Superior of the Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora (Salesian Sisters), with more than 25 years (1957)

[illegible]. A similar statement was given by the Superior of the newly founded Salesian Mission of Assunção among the Arwake of the Içana, located in the place known as Carará-poço, in August of 1957, therefore after only five months of the functioning of the local girls' boarding school.

of residence among those tribes, informed us that there was always a girl with ascendancy over the rest, a true "tuxaua," whose orders the others obeyed promptly, although transgressing school regulations and the orders of the Irmãs Superioras /Superior Sisters/; and they brought to this classmate the gifts received. Such deference, however, did not seem to be the fruit of friendship, but of fear. The Indian girl, who hardly cries, did it when admonished

/467 cont./

by this companion, whose rebuke (104)

> 104. Among the reciprocal insults, someone said: -- "You do not have a father," and another answered her: -- "Your mother is a thief."

she feared more than that of the Religious Superiors.

We have already mentioned the great sociability of these tribes, but nevertheless there do not seem to exist among the Uaupesinos secret Societies or more or less public ones of the various kinds that proliferate among the North American tribes, especially among the matriarchalists. The causes might be several: 1st, they ordinarily live in small human groups; whereas it is the large groupings that favor the subdivisions into smaller societies; 2nd, they live the common life of a maloca, each one being observed in all his acts; 3rd, the family life is quite autonomous, even when several families live in the same maloca, without partitions of any kind; 4th, the almost nonexistence of a taboo separating the men from the women.

1) We have an indication of a great separation of the sexes, and of a society that gathers together few times and quickly today, in the feasts of wĩx-tĩ. The men congregate for the phallic procession, as we have described (VII - 4, e (2 a 1) and the women remain outside the maloca, with the prohibition, under the penalty of death, against looking at the instrument.

2) We have noticed in the malocas and povoados the existence of a Senate, the Bũxkõrákurá, which meets frequently, enjoying /468/ great ascendancy, imposing and demanding the observance of the ancestral customs, with the competence to choose the chief.

3) Another existing society, it seems, is that of the Xamãs /shamans/ or Pajés. The training process of the pajé always is attending the school of another pajé, even by class of student-xamãs. Even after graduating and in the exercise of their profession, they meet periodically, invited to resolve the most difficult

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342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
(592) self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

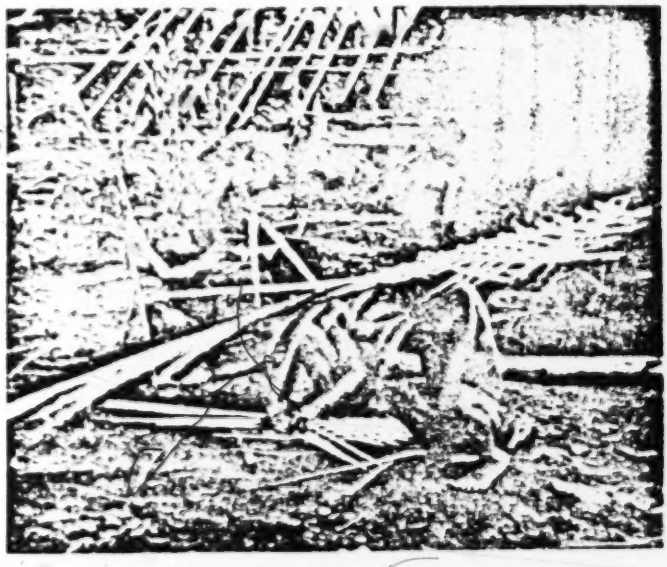

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Fig. 8. Children helping in housebuilding.

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501 516 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a broader-bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to two or three to those of the prowsman. When inertia has been overcome the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oarsman's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spontaneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!" On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why didn't you shoot them?"

[461] 501 461 501 517 [123]

501 462 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys, each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They also steer. On a long journey the prowsman or stroke is always the strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of balance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

[857]

502 [823] All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided because of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline. Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push. High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest.

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed.

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman alone in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry.

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared.

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will

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not do all the men fish on the same day. A man who has had no luck one day temporarily loses interest in fishing. He turns to other activities, perhaps to hunting or to making household implements, or he may do nothing. As the season begins to taper off one fisherman after another gives up. The last to stop is the most successful. The Cubeo believe that a dispirited fisherman will catch nothing anyway. When all have stopped fishing the community hungers. After about a week of poor meals the women nag, but the men do not move until they have received a sign. The sign usually comes from the young male play pack. When the men have retired to the maloca to sulk, the youngsters turn their play fully toward the river. They take out canoes, and they set lines along the shore. For this they win immediate praise from the women, who say, "Look, the boys can catch fish but the men cannot." The boys patrol the river. One sights a school of fish and rushes into the house shouting, "The fish are coming." The men run to the bank to see. Then with great hilarity and good-natured pummeling of the boys they take to their canoes and the fishing cycle resumes.

Periodically, the routine of individual fishing is interrupted by organized collective fishing parties. The organizer is often the headman, but any man who has a plan will enlist a party. Summer is the season for fishing parties, when fish can be trapped in a shallow pool and stupefied with fish poison. Fishing parties are festive and noisy. The young play pack attends them, and the catch, which may be large, is collective. Each fisherman secures his own catch. When the party returns they distribute the total catch to all households. The distribution, according to an important Cubeo principle, is personal and never anonymous or generalized.

Fishing a shallow pond requires equipment and preparation. One man locates the place and asks his fellows to join him in fishing it. Several, or all, contribute sections of splint fencing that forms the weir. One party undertakes to put up the weir while another manages to gather and prepare fish poison. The men, as always, work efficiently together with a minimum of formal direction. Most have been members of a common play pack so that teamwork is automatic. Each household head has brought his own canoe into which he loads his "own" catch. Some shoot with bow and arrow, others use a dip net, and some thrash about seizing the dulled fish with their hands. Such fishing is never solemn. The men joke, they address each fish, and when they have tired of the sport they stop. A man may take secret pride in his individual catch, but he is expected to behave as though he were lampooning rivalry.

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592 554 [433] providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 241 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*niyamu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*kanaye*), and tabena (*miwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaiwaiya*, *waiwari*, *moa*, *pudyu*, *kanéka*, and *kábeka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*karamene*), pineapple, (*thiiba*), banana (*dyeiye*), plantain (*one*), pupunha (*ene*), gourd (*horobe*), calabash [273] (*dahiiami*), coca (*patu*), tobacco (*buteo*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient in chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one [272] drinks coffee, and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his community cared for onions! Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected, and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [857] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I 235 believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [262] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading [439] them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner.

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264 574 123 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahúkwa* to pay a courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahúkwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 758 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 571 866 [857] The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 183 571 431 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice, one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy [123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

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601
614 although they understood the *Orabawa* usage very well. The *Pedikwa*
[554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiari that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kenánikauwú* are a subsib of the *Pedikwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piarawa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grunberg's information that since they call themselves *Olá-Piarawa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Orabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahúktwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior.
571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship
[622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac-
[857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come
[614] to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves
[796] at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere-
[622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561
562 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance,
796 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of ceremony women take precedence according to the order of precedence
[622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis a vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substi-
[593] tute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to
[614] the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial
[553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother.
561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring
584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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not yet joined the male play pack. By the time he is old enough for active play he has been well weaned from dependence upon the mother. In the case of a girl, this "dead" interval is one in which she waits to be useful to her mother. I saw no temper tantrums. Children of this age seem rather passive and steadfastly attached to the little sister.

For the boy, growth means a gain in autonomy, for the girl it means closer ties to the mother but with ever increased chores. The boy is the favorite of his mother; the girl, who is to become a drudge, receives more severe attention from a disciplinarian mother.

What I have called the play pack, the grouping of boys from the age of six to past adolescence, is the major educational institution of the sib. It is in a sense an age grade whose members remain closely associated throughout their lives in most cases. The distinctive feature of the Cubeo play pack is that it is an autonomous body subject to virtually no regulation or supervision. A boy occasionally joins his father, but his primary linkage is to the "pack." The pack forms its own leadership, forages for food, plays in the river, roams the bush, attaches itself from time to time to the collective activities of the men, practices songs and dances in anticipation of ceremonies, and spies and reports on lovers. The pack leader assumes responsibility for proper behavior, scolding boys for wayward sexual behavior, that is, breaching the incest rules, and lending assistance and encouragement with skills. The boys are never mischievous and are never scolded or disciplined by adults. A youngster does not actually understand anger directed against him. Only once did I see a father strike his young son in a fit of temper. The boy neither flinched nor cowered. He merely stared at his father as though waiting for an explanation. The man rapidly regained his poise, laughed, and pretended he had struck the boy playfully. On another occasion, a little girl tipped over a large tray of manioc mash so that it was totally spoiled. Although the accident cost hours of work it provoked only amused laughter. One might add here that even the depredations of a pet monkey, some of which were quite costly, were met only with amusement.

The pack is not sealed off from adult activities, but its relationship to adult work is voluntary. The Cubeo distinguish sharply between play that is appropriate to young boys and work and ceremonial life that is appropriate to adult males. Thus, whatever work the play pack chooses to help with is welcomed, but when the boys become bored with a task and leave it there is no ground for complaint against them. The young unmarried men who have left the

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857 [883] The young unmarried men who have left the play pack are a link between the pack and the circle of adults. The older men take no notice of the pack as a group at all. After dark each boy returns to his own household.

The life of the boy is largely collective, that of the girl is individualized. She is bound, so to speak, to the household hearth, and her social or play life corresponds rather closely to that of her mother. Girls have no independent games of their own. They assemble with their infant charges for gossip, looking rather sedate as they admire one another's ornaments. They are not free to mix with the boys unless invited to take part in games. Such games as they join often have a mythological reference and may be interpreted, I think, as children's ceremonies.

524 The Northwest Amazon is rather rich in children's games and toys. Among the *Bahúkiwa* a popular children's game is that of the *abúhuwa*, the forest ogres or demons, and the tem tem bird, the *taintúrü*. Boys and girls, including the smallest toddlers, form a circle around a child, who is always a grown boy. The circle is of the *abúhuwa*, who have surrounded the *taintúrü*. When the game starts the "bird" is crouched in the center, his head resting on his knees, and the circle is dancing around him. From time to time a boy enters the circle to tap the "bird" on the head and to pinch his flesh to determine if he is grown enough to be eaten. Then the children stop circling and several raise the *taintúrü* to his feet, who announces that he is now awake by stopping his ears with his fingers and calling out *hru hru hru*. The *abúhuwa* link hands and again dance around him in a circle. The "bird" must now make an effort to break out. He can easily break out by charging at a weak link. But this he will not do because it would be disheartening to a very little child, who must be part of the game but not a spoiler of the game. As he hurls himself at the line the "bird" hears two kinds of encouragement. One group calls to the line *paré paré* (strength! strength!), encouraging it to hold, another calls at the boy *temúdjo temúdjo* (break through! break through! [as an arrow from a bow]). When the boy breaks through he is called back to the circle where he again frees himself, this time by verbal means. Standing in the center he turns suddenly upon a child in the line and points to part of the child's body. The child must immediately reply, "The [naming the part] of the *abúhukü*." What usually confuses the child is the necessity of saying "of the *abúhukü*." When a number of children have failed to answer properly the child who is the *taintúrü* breaks through the line once more and a new "bird" is chosen.

This game is played only on cool pleasant evenings and seems to

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769 taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters
796 went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the
boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca
[614] counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When
they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had
arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns,
they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all
corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group,
men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As
each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was
given pupunha chicha.

All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the
boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him
[222] a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits
[857] and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the
forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gather-
ing is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initia-
tion are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca,
not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By
the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually
recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the
house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to
bring up the heavy bundles of *konha*. The seven initiates in the
meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door.
[278] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konha* they gave to
each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being re-
ceived as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial
cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and
[276] had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack
the *konha*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them
along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays
were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Buti* throughout the
house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Buti* dancer put aside the horn
and began to prepare a switch *(harámu)* that he had picked at the
[614] maloca's edge.* The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is
wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest
bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

* Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed beads. Whipping is called *haraíhume* (*haraí*, to strike; *-hume*, bitter, unpleasant).

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The sexual play between men and women begins when the first visiting women arrive and try to pass through the rear entrance of the maloca. The rear door has been removed and the opening barred by poles set in an × over which the women must climb. The Dung beetles, armed with wooden staffs, "guard" the entrance by thrusting at the women as they climb in. The women are burdened with great baskets containing household utensils. Many carry a nursing baby in a sling across the hip, with a walking child clutching the skirt. A woman can make no dignified entrance. Prodded by the Dung beetles she tumbles into the house, clutching her infant, her skirts flying, her utensils scattered. She laughs with excitement, recognizing her fall as a burlesque of the rough play that initiates sexual courtship. At this moment the men are being solemnly and decorously received at the front door. However, after having been tumbled into the house the women reassemble outside, the bars are removed, and they, too, are received in the conventional manner by the host women. They then settle themselves along the left wall of the women's section.

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The second molestation of the women comes at nightfall, when little boys rush in among them with a bark *dupu* (a lizard which supposedly makes the women squeamish) suspended along a sturdy rope. They invite the little girls to join them in a tug of war. The little girls act shy so the boys first play of tug of war among themselves, arranging to fall among the girls. Emboldened, the girls seize the *dupu* and join the tug of war. Another group of boys also bearing a *dupu* enters and engages more girls in a tug of war. The purpose of the *dupu* is to generate excitement among the women. The boys fall upon the little girls, who shriek with laughter and mock alarm while their mothers dodge the thrashing bodies artfully.

The youngsters are followed by an older group of Minnows, not masked, who swarm in noisily, stomping and whistling, dancing close among the women and jostling them. Finally, all the masked dancers, the adult males, enter. The air clouds with dust, and the women's section resounds to the shrieks of laughter, to song, and to the thump of dancing feet and the dry clatter of rattles. Young boys who are sent to sprinkle the floor with moist chicha mash, to settle the dust, pelt one another, and "accidentally" the women, with balls of mash. Throwing chicha mash is, for the Cubeo, a common form of flirtation. Ordinarily the woman throws at a lover. Children do not ordinarily play this game. Thus, the incongruity of being hit with mash thrown by little boys amuses the women enormously. It is the guest women who are flirtatiously singled out at this time. The host

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The host women stand apart on their side of the house and serve chicha to the Minnows.

The males leave and the excitement of the women subsides. Through the night, however, the men come to dance among the women. The fence that divides the house into a male and female half is also an emotional dividing line. Dances form on the male side, where they are solemn and subdued. When they pass to the women's side, the dancers are excited. When they go back they revert to calm. It is tempting to interpret the movement of the masked dancers – who look phallic – through the overlapping slit in the wall as symbolizing coitus, particularly since with almost each passage the level of excitement is heightened.

The excitement of the Minnows is allowed to subside in a calm interval. *Máwayo* (the red-mouthed aracú), and *U* (sloth) do a slow dance, holding long poles with a crook at one end which they suspend from a roof beam and upon which they swing. The Sloth always falls. He lies on the ground kicking a leg and making feeble gestures of arising, only to fall again. But *Máwayo* is slow and graceful and swings gently on his pole. The Sloth arises, and the dancers cross poles and gracefully dance out.

They are all followed by the Minnows. Each Minnow now carries a long pole that is joined to all the others by a string from which dangles a carved wooden bird. They do a circle dance with the bird in the center. As they circle, stamping strongly to accent the beat on the right foot, they jostle the women, moving in upon them to enclose them in the circle. The Jaguars now rush in, wilder than ever, leaping about among the women and falling upon them. They are followed by the boys with the *dúpu* on its string. The boys ensnare the young girls in the *dúpu* string. Now two masked dancers come in with long flaming broomsticks. They dash about among the women, swinging the flaming fibers among them. The women scatter in noisy panic, kicking over baskets and dishes. The attack by flame excites the Jaguars as well, and they whirl around among the women in sheer frenzy. As they flee this new menace, the women say, "The Jaguars are angry. They will soon attack people." The Jaguars, however, are no menace to the men. One climbs on top of the partition and blows noisily into his jug horn, and another climbs a roof beam overlooking the women, both in a simulated attack upon them.

The Jaguars withdraw, and the next entrance is again a quiet one. Two Spiders, slowly and gracefully holding a long string from the middle of which hangs a feather, dance toward one another, winding up the string until they are face to face at the feather and

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535 recognizing the symbolic distinction between an alligator and a
536 jaguar, do not throw it back at the men. Then the Jaguars kill a deer, who is represented by a masked dancer. The Jaguars dance wildly about their "victim," blowing loudly into their jugs. The victim writhes and falls agonizingly to the ground, kicking up a leg, moving an arm, and then lying inert. Other dancers, his "comrades," come to look at him. They lift his arm and it falls back. They lift his leg and it falls back. They sniff his body and murmur *ttt tttt*. Now the Carrion vultures come, with their short staffs held against the back of the neck. They dance about the victim singing the jaguar song. They buzz about the victim and bend down and kiss him. The Jaguars also kill *Pampámibo* (a frog), and the procedure is repeated.

This dramatization of the modes of violent death – the killing of the alligator, the lustful adulterer, the killing of the jaguar, the dread killer himself, and the killing of the weaker and defenseless game animals – restores the mood to one of sobriety. The dance of the Carrion vultures has a note of pathos that is not lost on the women.

765 When these sequences are done there is an intermission. The boys
831 busy themselves with the fabrication of great bark cloth penises.
[535] The phallic dance that is to follow is known as the "dance of the
• [857] potent penises" and is under the jurisdiction of the young men. As they complete the penises, the boys begin a sexual play with them, thrusting at one another in a hilarious burlesque of coitus. It is all play, in a spirit of gaiety and with much noise.

768 During this interval of male sexual play, that takes place in the men's part of the house, the women on their side are mourning in the conventional fashion, arms about one another's neck, faces together, crouching in a mournful circle.

765 On this, the third day, the women's section is not entered again by
535 the men until late in the afternoon. Then the entire corps of masked
831 dancers dances in, each man carrying a sprig of leaves with which
786 he beats the women, centering attention on the elderly. Some strike with such force as to make the women scream with pain. Others brush a woman's shoulder lightly. They then dance into the men's section and whip the hosts, but perfunctorily, since the real interest is in the women, from whom they should draw blood. The Jaguars enter briefly among the women. They leave and all the masked dancers – the *nowánparatowü* (potent penises) – come in. Each holds a bark-cloth phallus before him with both hands. The dancers thrust at the older women, some doing so very mildly, and others, the younger men, forcing the phalluses between a woman's legs. The women again shriek at their daughters to escape. As before, the girls

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dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner.

The symbolic coitus is decidedly less spirited than the previous onslaughts against the women. There is less body contact and, except for a few of the more aggressive younger men, the entire interlude has the appearance of a dance and not of an orgy.

The phallic dance concludes the first sexual sequence at this ceremony. Outside the house the boys conduct a homosexual play with the bark cloth phalluses, but this does not seem to be a part of the ceremony proper. One month later the mourning series is completed at a two-hour dance, at the end of which the masks are burned and, as the ultimate act, men take women, the wives of their phratry mates, into the bush and copulate, couples changing partners as often as they like. While there is a one month interval between the phallic dance and the actual sexual license, the final act of copulation is still part of the sexual sequence, just as the final dances and the burning of the masks are also part of the ceremonial sequence involving masks.

The final sexual event in this ritual sequence is to be understood as somewhat more than sexual consummation. It is also an act of mass adultery, as the Indians are only too well aware. In this act, the adulterous longings of the people are given expression without any real suppression of the stormy feelings of jealousy that adultery provokes among them. The adulterous act adds still another modality of sexual passion.

The entire sexual sequence is very close to Cubeo life, even to the point of including the homosexual play of the young boys, which in Cubeo life is also only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community. The very young girls receive only playful teasing attention by their male age mates. The younger married women – the sexually most desirable – are almost entirely ignored during the play phases of the sexual sequence. But in the final act it is they who are taken and not the older women. It is for this reason, too, that I regard the final sexual event as a provocative act of adultery, for the adultery of

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deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally. Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a complex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen together. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken -- and even then only moderately.

As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the prevalence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordinarily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship? Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry

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